

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W
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R 070652 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9399
INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY SAIGON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 0815

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VS, HU, PL

SUBJECT: HUNGARY AND THE ICCS

REF: STATE 059897

1. AT AUSTRIAN DINNER HONORING HIM LAST NIGHT, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER FRIGYES PUJA (PETER IS OFF TO JAPAN) AND I HAD A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF HUNGARIAN ROLE IN ICCS AND DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH'S STIFF PROTEST TO HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR. PUJA OBVIOUSLY HOT UNDER THE COLLAR OVER CHARGES THAT HUNGARY NOT FULFILLING ITS ROLE IN ICCS. HE CALLED IT AN ALLEGATION THAT HUNGARY WAS SABOTAGING WORK OF ICCS AND WAS A THREAT TO BILATERAL U. S. - HUNGARIAN RELATIONS AS A CONSEQUENCE. PUJA CALLED HUNGARIAN ROLE IN VIETNAM THANKLESS ONE. HE CHARGED THAT SAIGON WAS GUILTY OF NUMEROUS VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENTS, SAID THAT DANGERS TO MEMBERS OF THE ICCS PRECLUDED ICCS FROM TAKING ACTIONS. HE INTIMATED THAT SLAPPING DOWN SMALL COUNTRY LIKE HUNGARY BY U. S. NOT PRODUCTIVE.

2. I TOLD PUJA THAT OUR CONCERN WAS THAT THE FRAGILE APPARATUS ESTABLISHED TO CONTROL AND SUPERVISE THE PARIS AGREEMENTS WAS IN JEOPARDY, NOTING THAT THERE WERE NUMEROUS WELL- DOCUMENTED PRG AND DRV VIOLATIONS WHICH THE HUNGARIANS AND POLES HAD REFUSED TO INVESTIGATE, WHEREAS THEY WERE ALWAYS READY AND EAGER TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED GVN VIOLATIONS.

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I SPOKE OF WELL-FOUNDED CANADIAN CONCERN AND THREATS TO LEAVE ICCS IF HUNGARIANS AND POLES CONTINUED TO OBSTRUCT WORK OF COMMISSION. I SAID THAT ALL WE ASKED FOR WAS AN EVEN-HANDED TREATMENT OF THE SITUATION. I CAUTIONED PUJA THAT A POLEMICAL REPLY TO OUR PROTEST WOULD NOT SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE. I SUGGESTED TO PUJA THAT HE CONSULT HIS FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN MOSCOW ABOUT THEIR VIEWS ON THE SITUATION AND THEREAFTER SEE WHAT, TOGETHER WITH THE POLES, THEY COULD DO TO MAKE THE ADMITTEDLY DIFFICULT TASK OF THE ICCS MORE EFFECTIVE. I NOTED THAT THERE WAS MORE AT STAKE HERE THAN BITS OF REAL ESTATE IN INDO-CHINA AND THAT OBVIOUSLY EAST- WEST RELATIONS, INCLUDING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND HUNGARY, WERE BOUND TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ACTIONS OF HUNGARY IN THE ICCS.

3. MTI (HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY) THIS MORNING REPORTS WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN OBLIQUE REPLY BY HUNGARIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JOZSEF MARJAI TO THE RUSH PROTEST. MARJAI IS QUOTED BY MTI AS SAYING THAT HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COMMISSION HAVE STRICTLY KEPT TO THE LETTER OF THE AGREEMENT. HE CRITICIZES THE "FAULT-FINDING ATTITUDE OF THE SAIGON REGIME'S LEADERSHIP" AND BLAMES IT FOR THE FAILURE TO GET DOWN TO DISCUSSIONS OF QUESTIONS. HE CHARGES THAT THE MILITARY PROVISIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ARE REPEATEDLY INFRINGED UPON BY THE SAIGON ARMY AND ADDS THAT EVEN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT FULLY KEEPING TO ITS PROVISIONS. MARJAI CLAIMS THAT THE REDUCTION OF US AND US ALLIED TROOPS WAS NOT CARRIED OUT UNDER THE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION AS PRESCRIBED IN THE AGREEMENT AND ITS ANNEXES. MARJAI, STRIKING OUT WILDLY, ASKS IN THE MTI INTERVIEW HOW MANY THOUSANDS OR TENS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN ADVISERS AND PERSONNEL REMAIN IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER CHARGES THAT LARGE U. S. FORCES IN ASIA HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED BY PARTS OF THE UNITS WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH VIETNAM AND THAT U. S. MILITARY ACTION CONTINUES AGAINST OTHER INDO-CHINESE COUNTRIES. HE CONCLUDES WITH A NOT TOO SUBTLE REFERENCE TO THE RUSH PROTEST WITH THE STATEMENT THAT NO ACCUSATIONS OR OTHER FORMS OF PRESSURE WILL DIVERT HUNGARY FROM ITS COURSE.

4. COMMENT: AS REMARKS OF PUJA AND MARJAI INDICATE, HUNGARIANS IN SOUR MOOD ON VIETNAM. THEY OBVIOUSLY HAVE BEEN BURNED BY THE STIFF PROTEST MADE TO SZABO IN WASHINGTON.
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THEIR USUAL RESPONSE TO THIS KIND OF APPROACH IS A WILD

POLEMIC. HOWEVER, WHATEVER THE AMOUNT OF INDIGNATION WHICH THEY EXPRESS ON SUCH OCCASIONS, THIS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBSCURE THE CENTRAL FACT THAT THEY HAVE LITTLE CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN ACTIONS IN VIETNAM. THEY, AND PROBABLY THE POLES TOO, OF COURSE, ARE TOOLS OF THE SOVIETS IN THIS AS IN ALL FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS.

5. I FEAR THEREFORE THAT IF THERE IS TO BE A CHANGE OF THE HUNGARIAN POSITION IN THE ICCS, IT CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY EXERTING PRESSURE IN MOSCOW. IF THE SOVIETS TELL THE HUNGARIANS TO CHANGE THEIR TUNE IN THE ICCS, THEY WILL DO SO. OTHERWISE, THEY PROBABLY WILL NOT, WHATEVER REPRESENTATIONS WE MAKE TO THEM. FOR AFTER ALL HUNGARY'S NUMBER ONE PRIORITY IS TO MAINTAIN THE BEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOR AND OCCUPIER, THE SOVIET UNION. IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE U. S. IS A DESIDERATUM, BUT IT RANKS SOMEWHAT BELOW THE INESCAPABLE PRIORITY OF REMAINING ON GOOD TERMS WITH THE SOVIETS.

PUHAN

NOTE BY OC/ T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. KURZE S/ S- O.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BUDAPE00815
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730436/aaaahvgj.tel
Line Count: 139
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 73 STATE 059897
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <07-Nov-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971205
Subject: HUNGARY AND THE ICCS
TAGS: MARR, HU, PL, VS
To: JAKARTA
MOSCOW
OTTAWA
SAIGON
SECSTATE WASHDC
SS
WARSAW

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005